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CHRISTMAS—AND WAR!

George
LANSBURY
and
ERIC GILL:
page 4

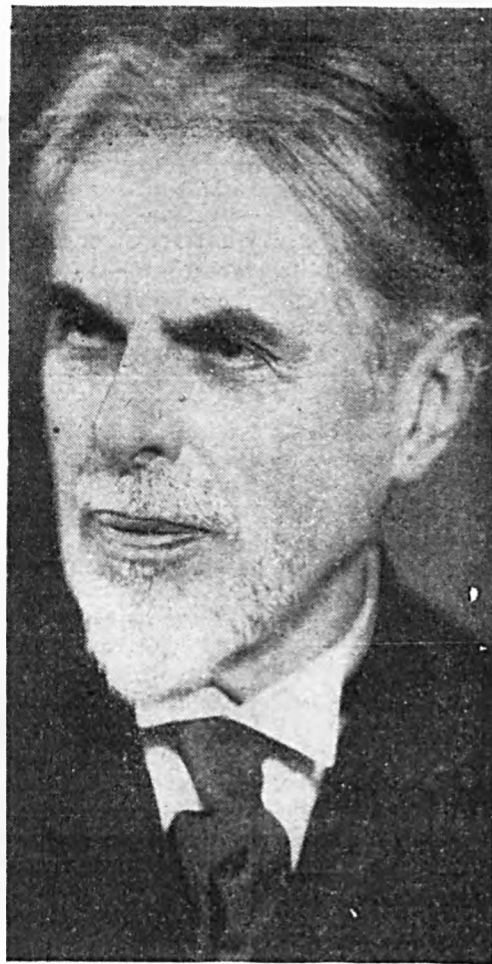
THE SHAME OF THE WEST

Christmas—the Feast of Peace, as Eric Gill calls it in his article on page 4 of this issue—finds three of the great European nations at war: three nations whose tradition is Christian, though lip-service alone may have been the respect they have paid to that tradition in their international policies. This war is their common shame.

From the day that this crazy conflict started, its stark immorality and pathetic futility have been obvious, even to many who are now waging it; but at this season of the year its gross outrageousness is more apparent than at any other time. For war is the negation, the blank denial, of all that is summed up in the phrase, “the Christmas spirit”—the negation of love of one’s fellows and hope for the redemption of the world.

Hence the earnest pleas for a Christmas truce which have been made in various quarters during recent days. Typical of them was that addressed to *The Times* (Dec. 13) by George Lansbury, the Rev. Henry Carter and Percy W. Bartlett, of the Embassies of Reconciliation. “The spirit of the Christmas season,” they emphasized, “makes a powerful appeal in all countries, and not least in Germany and in Rome. And it is in Christianity that we must find the solution of our problem.”

Such hopes seem destined to frustration, at least so far as officialdom is concerned. But for all we know, some move of the kind may be made in lesser circles—perhaps even among the troops themselves. History gives warrant for eagerly anticipating so startling and encouraging a sign—as Laurence Housman recalls in the article which follows. The men themselves called a halt during the first Christmas of the last war, following the initiative of a German. It would give new inspiration to peace-lovers everywhere if, at this tragically critical moment, that fine gesture were to be reciprocated this week-end by one of our warriors in the Maginot Line.



**LAURENCE
HOUSMAN**

the playwright, recalls below the remarkable occasion during the last War when German and British soldiers respected a Christmas truce.

How the Troops Called a Truce in 1914



**“Behold, the Son of Man
is Betrayed into the
Hands of Sinners”**

Reproduced from “Thy Kingdom Come”
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Wragg’s latest collection of drawings.

I WONDER how many accounts exist of the Christmas Truce, which, in defiance of military authorities, the common soldiers of the opposing armies held on “No Man’s Land” along the Flanders front, during the days of December 25 and 26, 1914.

The account from which I have taken the details that follow was written by a Captain of the Scots Guards two days after the event; and though at first he was rather startled and disapproving of so flagrant a breach of military discipline, he was won over in the end by the spirit of real friendliness which animated that outbreak of peaceful mutiny, even to the extent of taking part in it!

Outside the Rules

On the previous day, December 24, there had been the usual amount of firing all along the line, and the sniping on both sides had been pretty brisk. On the morning of the 25th, there was some firing, but at eight o’clock it stopped entirely. Half an hour later, the English Captain was amazed to see four German soldiers, without arms, leave their trenches and come toward the English lines. He ordered two of his men to go and meet them, and find out their business; and the Germans being unarmed they were to go unarmed also.

The men, fearing treachery, were not at all keen on the job; and as it seemed rather outside the rules of military discipline for an officer to order his men to meet the enemy without arms, the Captain went out himself.

By the time he reached them, the Germans were already three-quarters of the way across “No Man’s Land”; the party was composed of three privates and a stretcher-bearer. He ordered them half-way back, and there joined them to know their business.

They said that they had come to wish the English Tommies a happy Christmas; that

for that day there would be no firing and no sniping from them; and they were quite ready, if the other side agreed, to keep truce for the whole day.

Apparently they did not know they were speaking to a Captain, he having come out in very unregimental attire; and so, taking him for nothing higher in rank than a corporal, they talked freely and openly, as to equals. One of them had come from Suffolk where, on the outbreak of war, he had left his girl and his motor-bike, both of which he feared he might never see again. The Captain gave him a post-card, told him to write to his girl in English, and posted it for him the same night.

Curious to know how discipline in the German army could have become so relaxed, the Englishman asked what orders they had had from their officers about coming over. They replied none; they had just come out of good will and friendliness, because it was Christmas.

They went on to say that they had no feeling of enmity toward the English; but being soldiers they had to obey. So far as they were concerned, they never wished to fire another shot, and unless directly ordered were not going to till the other side did.

With these Germans the Captain remained in conversation for half an hour, and then saw them back to their trenches, warning them that if any came out later they must not pass the half-way line. Having exchanged English cigarettes for German cigars, he went off to report to Headquarters, leaving his men to do as they pleased.

H.Q. Astonished

Apparently Headquarters were too much astonished to do anything—for the moment, at any rate. On his return he found his dug-out empty, not a single man left; and

(Continued on page 3)

Women’s Peace Campaign Plans

THE response to the appeal made at the Central Hall, Westminster, last Saturday, for help in organizing poster parades and marches outside the Metropolitan Area has been very encouraging. Details of schemes will be sent soon after Christmas to all who have given in their names.

It is not too late to send in your name and address if you wish to help in any way, either with money or with your time—both are urgently needed.

The collection taken at the meeting, which is reported on page 5, amounted to £101 4s. 3d., which more than covered all expenses. The organizers are most grateful to all who came, and to all who sent messages and donations.

The main idea of the meeting was that it should be a preliminary to an organized effort to bear witness to the pacifist faith, and to demonstrate the determination to press for a negotiated peace NOW.

Further offers of help should be sent to Miss Sybil Morrison, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Pacifist Commentary . . . edited by "Observer"

The Door Still Open :: Lord Halifax's Latest Statement :: The Lesson of Economic Need

"HALIFAX trounces pacifist peers" made a good contents bill for the *Daily Express* when it reported the debate initiated in the House of Lords on Wednesday of last week by Lord Darnley.

But Lord Halifax "hoped, if and when it was read abroad, it would be read as a whole." We may hope so too. For apart from the "trouncing" (which was certainly not foreign to the Nazi attitude to pacifism), the Foreign Secretary made some notable statements that should serve at least to keep the door open to a negotiated peace.

True, it is nothing new that the Government has said it was "always prepared for negotiation," yet has not apparently done anything about it but point to obstacles which it claims only Germany can remove. True, also, that on this occasion too "the proper and essential conditions in international order" were asked for before negotiations could begin.

But it should be put on record that the Foreign Secretary said that, given those conditions, "we would be prepared to call Germany to full co-operation with ourselves in trying to build with us." That goes a good deal further than previous references to "the enemy"—especially those of Mr. Chamberlain in his last broadcast and subsequent speech in the House of Commons.

The point is of considerable importance in that it bears on the root of the difficulty—the mistrust between the two countries. Anything that will tend to lessen and remove that is to be welcomed. For that point alone Lord Halifax's speech was admirable. It was worth a "trouncing"!

NOR need we be too dejected about the insistence on certain prior conditions—especially while they remain vague enough to allow almost any good opportunity to be taken as soon as our own Government feels ready.

Thus, it is also a useful service for the people of this country (to whom the Government is supposed to be responsible) to try to make the Government feel ready and especially to suggest to it prior con-

dition which both sides can accept and accept quickly. Why not, for instance, suggest that the very basis of peace talks might itself, if it were sufficiently imaginative, provide the necessary prior conditions of success?

Lord Halifax "was not so sure yet that Herr Hitler was anxious for terms that would give peace in Europe for the next generation." But surely the German people are?

It is difficult to imagine that Herr Hitler himself would refuse such terms (as a basis of negotiation) as *really* would hold out hopes of other than a dictated peace (which has already been disavowed by our Government).

But what rallies the German people behind him as nothing else has done is the fear of "another Versailles." So that if it were obvious enough that our proposals for negotiation would not mean that, Herr Hitler would have to agree or lose his people's confidence—his only "means of support."

The one thing needful above all else, therefore, is to convince the German people of our good intentions. The worst way to do that is to let our Churchills broadcast. The best way is to reinforce our Halifaxes' assertions with imaginative proposals and communicate them to "the enemy" (if necessary through already willing neutral mediators) at the earliest possible moment.

An Economic Problem

WHILE people, in stating what they think the peace aims and conditions for an armistice should be, insist on German withdrawal from this or that part of Europe no headway can be made. Quite apart from the fact that Germans should not rule people of other nations, it is a psychological blunder to start at that end of the problem.

That it is also the wrong end of the stick from a purely practical point of view is suggested by an article and letter that have recently appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*.

A leader on "Nationalism and the War," on December 8, stressed the close connexion between economic depression and fanatical nationalism. It gave three conclusions which it is of great importance to remember in considering the pre-conditions of a peace conference. They were:

1. "In times of depression any sweeping doctrine which brings comfort to distressed minds is apt to capture the imagination of masses of men and women."
2. The second quotation sums up the conclusions of the writers of "Nationalism" published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. "The State in which nationalism has become intolerant and militant are those that were economically least able to stand the more intense economic competition that followed the war."
3. "The conclusions to be drawn from these discussions (in 'Nationalism') are that what Europe wants is closer union for economic development. When the nations are combined in the active prosecution of these measures that will help to raise the level of social life throughout Europe Governments will learn to modify their extreme nationalist aims in an atmosphere of co-operation and constructive reform."

In a letter which that paper published on December 14, Wilfred Wellock suggested that those conclusions proved that a peace conference should be called to deal with one issue only—"the economic reorganization and pacification of Europe, the distribution of the amazing abundance of this scientific age, the crying demand for which Governments so far have flagrantly flouted." He added:

"Were that problem seriously faced and bold measures taken to solve it, we are justified, by the conclusions I have quoted, in believing that with the removal of economic stress international tensions would be relaxed, and that exaggerated, militaristic nationalism would gradually disappear."

The following, by Mr. W. Robertson, of Culter, Aberdeenshire, is included as a useful contribution to the discussion of peace terms and the alternative of continuing the war.

"It seems to me that a new note of changing values is in the world today. Let me make clear what I mean by pointing out a few of these new notes in world affairs and some of the effects which naturally result from them.

"Notice that every responsible man, politician or otherwise, who has occasion to touch on the after-war settlement, pictures the setting up of a new world order.

"I am not one of those who bemoan the fact that the Prime Minister, for instance, did not go the whole hog when he broadcast the other evening. Do let us be reasonable. Was it not some achievement that an old-fashioned Tory imperialist should have gone as far as he did?

"Once you have him facing in the right direction, it is your business and mine to push him all the way. As a matter of fact, it was public clamour which forced him to sketch the outlines of the peace.

"Do you recall his repeated phrases? It was to be a new Europe. Such a Europe as . . . Broad outlines, certainly, but very significant.

"Then Mr. Herbert Morrison followed on the next evening and put some more touches to the Prime Minister's picture.

"Mr. Attlee went further still. It must not be a 'dictated' peace. It must be a peace freely negotiated by equals. 'Europe must federate or perish.'

"Even Germany adds a few touches to the picture, for report credits Von Papen with a plan for a federal union of nations.

"At this stage our own Government does a bit of experimenting along the federation line. We join with France to secure our common supplies, and this arrangement turns out to be such a success that Mr. Morrison puts another daub of paint on the

picture by suggesting that we should have a customs union with France. And, as I write, a scheme of financial co-operation has just been completed.

"You may not think there is much in all this. I grant it, but we may catch even from such things as these a vision of a settlement in which the old discredited standards will be swept away for ever and our faith founded in that 'righteousness which alone exalteth a nation.' You can see a big field through a chink in the fence.

"The essentials of a lasting peace are all there; even Hitlerism would fall before such a settlement.

Another Way

ONE can quite understand and sympathise with the person who says: 'We cannot allow Germany to get away with it; she must be made to disgorge the loot.' But there is another way, that is, to take the value out of the loot. Devalue it. Make it useless.

"When a nation's greatness was computed by extent of territories, populations, armies, navies, and all that, then the annexation of Czechoslovakia with its armament facilities, and Poland and Austria, with their quotas also of things contributory to the current standard of national greatness, could be understood, though by no means condoned. But, just change the standard of values and these acquisitions simply don't count.

"If the Allies could, at this present juncture, be big enough to offer such a settlement (and it would be well worth their while) as would give to every German, Czech, Pole, Netherlander, or Dane, Norseman, Swede, or Finn, Russian, Swiss or any other, equal economic opportunity with us in our Empire and colonies, free access to raw materials and a fair and just share in the world's goodness, liberty for all and unrestricted intercourse between the peoples—such an offer would so transform the whole criteria of values that loot would be no asset nor carry any advantage whatever.

"But are the nations ready for this? I cannot see the lesser nations requiring to be asked a second time. What would not they give, those nations over whose heads the sword has hung continually, to have that sword taken away and the fear of invasion removed for ever?

"And, extraordinary as it may seem, this blessing is in our gift to bestow with the help of our friends and neighbours. A penny postcard from 75 per cent. of the electors to the Prime Minister would do it.

"As we ourselves hope to receive mercy, dare we withhold so small a service as that?"

J. Middleton Murry on the NEED FOR PEACE AIMS

ONE of the most interesting facts about a conference if no peace-terms are published.

Germany revealed in Mr. Oswald Villard's recent articles in *The Daily Telegraph* is the success of the Nazi domestic propaganda against this country. Mr. Villard, who is moderate in his language, speaks of the "vile anti-English propaganda." Unfortunately, it seems to be believed.

Intensely critical though I am of Britain, I am perfectly certain that we entered on this war with the utmost reluctance, and that, even now, there is not more than a small fraction of the people who desire anything other than a just peace with Germany. Yet, if Mr. Villard is to be believed—and I do believe him—the great majority of Germans have been convinced that our aim is the destruction of Germany.

The power of propaganda in a totalitarian country is terrible. It is bad enough even in England. But totalitarian propaganda belongs to another order altogether. The only way it can be countered is on the big political scale. The British and French Governments need publicly to pledge themselves to the terms of a just peace.

"No Chance Unless . . ."

Unfortunately there seems little chance of their doing this; and some pacifists—from motives which I think mistaken—are inclined to acquiesce in the undesirability of pressing for peace-terms. They seem to have swung round to the opinion that there is more chance of an armistice and

My own belief is that there is no chance at all unless it can be made evident to the German people that they can have a just peace when they desire it. Very possibly that cannot be made evident to them, simply because it may not be true. But this seems to be the one hopeful line of political action, in the narrower sense of the word, that is open to pacifists.

Prepare for the Future

But the thought of totalitarian propaganda sets my mind working in a different direction: how to resist its development in this country. If, as Mr. Villard believes, Germany is going to launch a colossal attack on this country in the spring, the moral consequences may be proportionately tremendous. There may be a new drive—not so much from the government as from public opinion and the press itself—to curtail or suppress freedom of speech. The very widespread attitude of good will to pacifists which now prevails may suddenly change.

We should be preparing ourselves against the evil day—not by preparing to adopt conspiratorial methods. On the contrary, by strengthening our faith and deepening our sense of community. Every Peace Pledge Union group should use the next few months in an effort at human and spiritual consolidation. Let it seek to become closer knit in faith and friendship, and a completer devotion to the cause of Man and God.



ARTHUR WRAGG'S challenge to sanity THY KINGDOM COME

The Bishop of Chichester writes:

These fine brave drawings are alight with an extraordinary fire. I wish everyone who cares for the future of his fellows could see them, and would take what they tell him to heart.

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The Christ of the Andes

A STORY FOR CHILDREN

by Hetty Lee

ONCE there was a friend of the Lord Jesus who helped to make hundreds and hundreds of people happy on Christmas Day. He was called Monsignor Benavente, and he was a bishop in the country of Argentina, in South America.

Part of the year he lived in a town by the seashore, where the big ships came from England, and in the great cathedral church there the Bishop used to preach. But often he travelled up and down in his own country, getting to know the people and their children, both in the busy towns and in the little country villages, telling them about the Lord Jesus Christ, and teaching them the prayer which we all know so well, "Our Father which art in Heaven."

NOW far away from the town where the Monsignor lived was a great range of mountains, high and covered with snow; the Bishop used often to watch the sun set behind those great hills. Beyond them was another country called the country of Chile; the mountains made a barrier between the two countries of Argentina and Chile.

Many people lived in Chile, some in busy towns and some in little villages. They had a Bishop of their own, and a great cathedral church for him to preach in, and they knew too about our Lord Jesus Christ, and knelt down every day to say, "Our Father which art in Heaven."

ONE Christmas Day the Bishop of Argentina was sad; he knew that the peoples of these two countries, his own country of Argentina and the country of Chile beyond the mountains, were all of them children of the Heavenly Father, and Jesus Christ came on earth to make them friends; but the people of Argentina and the people over the mountains were not friends; they had a great quarrel, that was what made the Bishop full of sorrow.

They were quarrelling about the land on the slopes of the great mountains. The people of Argentina said "That land belongs to us," and the people over the mountains would say "No, it is ours." So they kept on quarrelling and hating each other,

and at last they said "We will go to war."

When the Bishop heard this, he was full of grief. He thought: "My people will go out and fight the people over the mountains; and the men will hate and kill each other, and yet they are all the children of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

And then he went on thinking: "Their mothers and wives and little children will miss them while they are away; and many of them will never come back home, and many will come back hurt and wounded; and yet the Christmas angels sang 'Peace on earth, good will to men,' and they all pray every day to Our Father which art in Heaven."

So all through that Christmas Day the Bishop was very sorrowful, and he prayed: "Our Father, we are all Thy children; send us peace and good will."

But the winter days went on, and the people of Chile and the people of Argentina began to get ready for war. They began building big ships down by the seashore, and teaching their men to shoot. The mothers began to say "Maybe the war will take our sons away from us and kill them," and the wives began to say the same about their husbands; and the little boys and girls began to say "Suppose the war takes our fathers and brothers away and kills them!"

Then high up on the slopes of their side of the mountains the people of Argentina built strong forts and put big guns in them, and soldiers on guard stood there to shoot the people of Chile if they came. And the people of Chile on their side of the mountains did just the same.

So the days went on. The Bishop grew sadder, and the people round about him grew sadder too.

THEN Good Friday came. Do you remember the story of what happened on Good Friday long ago? The Lord Jesus let the people put Him to death upon the

cross, because He loved all people and came to bring peace to all the world.

The Bishop thought over that story all Good Friday, and he kept saying to himself "My people are going to war, and yet Christ came to bring us Love and Peace."

Then came Easter Day, but the Bishop could not be happy and glad. He kept on thinking, "My people are going to war—they are going to fight the people over the mountains, and Christ loves them both, and came to bring them peace," and he prayed to our Lord to show him what to do. Our Lord did show him, for on Easter Day he went into the great cathedral church and stood up in his Bishop's robes before all the people. "This is Easter Day," he said. "You are all God's children; make peace for Christ's own sake." The people in the cathedral listened. Many of them said "No, we must go to war. We must fight the people over the mountains."

But some of the people said "Let us try to make peace for Christ's sake." Moreover, someone who was there sent a message over the mountains into the country of Chile, saying, "The Bishop of Argentina says 'Make peace, in Christ's Name!'"

And the message reached the Bishop of Chile, and he was full of gladness and courage and cried out "I say so, too. Make peace in Christ's Name."

THEN the two Bishops each set out to travel through their lands and ask their people to make peace.

They went to the people in the big towns and to the people in the little villages, saying "Make peace: give up your war for Christ's sake." At first only a few people said "Yes—let us stop the war and make peace"; but gradually more and more said "Yes," until throughout the two countries people were saying "Let us make peace for Christ's sake" and they were praying God to send them peace.

Then came the second Christmas Day. In the country of Argentina, the people went to church and heard again the story of the little Lord Jesus, born in a manger, and of the angels singing, "Peace on earth, good will toward men," and in the country of Chile, over the mountains, the people did the same.

The Bishop of Argentina went to his cathedral church and the Bishop of Chile went to his, but both were full of joy that day. That very day a letter had gone over the seas from the people of Argentina and the people of Chile to our English King, saying "Make peace for us; send us someone to settle our quarrel, and make us friends again."

Then the King of England agreed most gladly. Soon an Englishman arrived in a ship from England. He travelled all along the snowy mountains between the two countries, and then he and the men from both these countries met round a table and made a map together and settled their quarrel and made peace. So the people of Argentina and the people of Chile were friends again, and the two Bishops were full of joy.

made the bronze metal into a noble statue of our Lord Jesus Christ. It was placed on a train and carried swiftly to the foot of the snowy mountains which lie between the two countries.

Then a band of soldiers and sailors from both countries dragged the great statue up the steep mountain road. Up and up they went till the road was so high that it was covered with snow and ice, and the wind blew cold and keen. There, by the side of the road the men with the statue rested.

Then the soldiers and sailors set to work and hewed out of the rocky mountain side a huge block of stone. Dragging it to the side of the road, they lifted the statue on to it as a base.

Then on one side of the block of stone the sculptor with his chisel made a picture; there were two angels in the picture: the Angel of the country of Argentina and the Angel of the country of Chile, and they were holding hands like friends; on the other side, carved in big letters, he put the words: "Peace on earth, good will to all men." Then the statue was covered up, and a message was sent to all the people on both sides of the mountains, saying "Come, the statue is finished."

SO the people of Argentina came with their Bishop-fathers and mothers and little children, boys and girls, climbing up from their side of the mountains: and the people of Chile came with their Bishop, climbing up from their side of the mountains, and they met at the top by the side of the snowy road.

All day long the people of Chile and Argentina talked with each other and made friends, and the children played together and everybody feasted and was glad. Then the sun began to sink and every one gathered at the foot of the statue and sang hymns of praise.

At last they knelt down upon the ground and prayed the Lord's own prayer—"Our Father," and the cover was drawn off the statue. There high up above all the people stood the figure of our Lord Jesus Christ; one of His hands held a cross and the other was stretched out, blessing all the world, and His face seemed full of gladness because the people of Chile and Argentina had made peace and were friends once again.

And before they went home, the mothers and fathers brought their little children up to the big statue and showed them, the figure of the Lord Jesus Christ standing above them, looking down in love and pity, and they read out to them the words written in big letters on the hard block of stone: "PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TO ALL MEN"—the Christmas message of long, long ago. And the people of Chile and the people of Argentina have kept peace ever since.

Reprinted from *New Stories of the Sunday Kindergarten*, with acknowledgments to the author and the National Society's Depository.

The Christmas Truce of 1914

(Continued from page 1)

over in "No Man's Land" at the half-way point a concert-party was going on; "Tipperary" and "Deutschland über alles" the main items. And not only was his own company hobnobbing with the enemy, but all down the line the same thing was going on: a beautiful mutiny was taking place, and nobody interfered.

Having put on proper kit for his visit to Headquarters, his rank was now recognized as he went out to inquire whether any German officers were in the crowd. There were two. He explained to them that the half-way point of meeting must be strictly observed, and that none must come there with arms; on both sides the Truce was agreed to; no time-limit was named.

One of the consequences of the cessation of firing was that birds (the sight of which had become a rare event) came back in great numbers to share in the truce. Two or three hares also came on the scene, and—less fortunate but not less welcome than the birds—were hunted and killed.

Throughout the day bilingual conversation, treating, singing, and exchange of gifts went on. At 11.30 "Auld Lang Syne" was sung; both sides again wished each other "a happy Christmas," and went back to bed for a real night's rest.

It Beat the Captain

Christmas Day was over. But the spirit of peace and friendliness was so infectious that the next day the same thing happened again. And had the matter been left to the rank and file, the Truce would never have ended. But at the close of the second day, orders came from above that the thing must stop, and fighting was resumed.

Official recognition had however been given to the Truce for a good, though for a much sadder purpose. On the second day directions came down from Headquarters for all the dead lying in "No Man's Land" to be brought in for decent burial. This was done on both sides. German stretcher-

bearers brought the English dead to the half-way line; English bearers did the same service for the Germans.

The Truce was only actually broken on the night of the 26th by a German deserter bringing false news that the Germans were about to attack in force. To head it off, the English guns opened a heavy fire, but on neither side was there any firing from the trenches. On the morning of the 27th Germans again came across to ask what all the firing was for, and were apologetically told why.

"I admit" was the Captain's final comment, "that the whole thing beat me absolutely." No wonder! and let us be grateful to the beaten man for putting his defeat on record. Let us also remember that the first offer of that wonderful Christmas Truce was made by Germans.

A CHRISTMAS GHOST STORY

South of the Line, inland from far Durban, A mouldering soldier lies—your countryman.

Awry and doubled up are his gray bones, And on the breeze his puzzled phantom moans

Nightly to clear Canopus: "I would know By whom and when the All-Earth gladdening Law

O Peace, brought in by that Man Crucified, Was ruled to be inept, and set aside?

And what of logic or of truth appears In tacking 'Anno Domini' to the years?

Near twenty-hundred liveried thus have hied, But tarries yet the Cause for which He died."

—From *Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy*. (Macmillan.) (By permission.)

BUT the Bishop of Argentina went on thinking. "Suppose we people forget and begin quarrelling again! Who will help us to remember? Who will help us to keep the peace which we have made?"

And he said to himself "It is only our Lord Jesus Christ who can help us." Then a beautiful thought from God came into his mind. He thought "Let us make a statue of our Lord Jesus Christ up there on the mountains—just between our two countries—so that when we look at it we may remember and stop our quarrels and make peace in Christ's name."

So he told the Bishop of Chile the beautiful thought which had come from God and they each told the plan to their own people, who said gladly "Let us join as friends to build the statue."

Then some of the great bronze guns that had been used in the wars of the olden times were melted down, and a young sculptor

A 10-year old Dreams of a Christmas Truce

The following essay on "Dreaming" is printed exactly as it was written by a ten-year-old Nottingham schoolboy.

SOMETIMES dream because I have had too much excitement.

Nearly always I have pleasant dreams. It is very rare that I have nightmares; when I do they are very bad ones, but here is one of my pleasant dreams.

One night I had not been in bed long before I started dreaming that there was a different government in Germany and peace had actually been signed on Christmas Day, and that we did not have to black out the windows at night. We did not have to take our gas-masks to school, the street lamps were lit at night again, all the men had come from the front and everybody was happy again.

The best thing about my dream was that all the gun factories were closed and I knew there would not be another war. I hope my dream will soon come true.

J. D. TOMLINSON

CHRISTMAS, 1865 — CHRISTMAS, 1939

George Lansbury Looks Back

THE first Christmas my memory recalls was celebrated in a big old house alongside a railway cutting. I have put the date as above, 1865; it may have been a year earlier. My memory is quite definite that this Christmas was my first.

My father tried to tell his five chattering children all about the baby born in a manger, and the wise men, shepherds, and the cruel King Herod. Often, when speaking with little children about these things I wonder if their minds are as plastic as mine was at that time.

"Santa Claus" was a reality, especially as he had brought my sister a beautiful dolls' house under a glass case, with an old man and woman to tell us when the weather would be fine or wet. On fine days the woman appeared; on wet days the man. Children are rather blasé these days about Christmas and toys.

Then and Now

The greatest joy of the day was when we were taken into a part of the house occupied by the chief official of the Railway Contractor and his family. Here we were given cakes, fruit, Christmas pudding, and sweets. The greatest event was when we entered a big room and for the first time saw and heard the music of a big high-backed piano.

The carols we then listened to have remained with me all my life. I have heard the same Christmas carols ever since and many, many more. Away in Australia, America and Europe these carols have seemed real and true. So they do now. I shall never get tired of *Hark the Herald Angels Sing* and *While Shepherds Watched their Flocks*.

★

SOME friends, nay many friends, think this is all moonshine, sentimental nonsense, but my mind, old in years as I am, remains quite young. I love to read the story of the shepherds and the wise men—especially the modern version called "The Other Wise Man." This version seems to make the whole birth, life, and death of Jesus and His message much more real than anything I can say or write.

Christmas in one way or another is a People's Festival. I look back over the years and can truthfully say Christmas has always been a time of joyous expectation in my own childhood home and in the home my wife and I made for ourselves and our children.

Shadow over Christmas

There have been years when Christmas was to some extent spoiled by war, revolution or social wrong. The first which always comes to my memory is 1870, when France and Germany were fighting to free the world from war, and Parisians in revolt were devouring the children of the Revolution.

There have been many similar occasions, but except for a very short period my mind has refused to spurn the Christmas message, it has always seemed true. Of course, we who think this way are not scientists in this matter. We live by faith and experience which for most people is more true and real than the theories of theologians and others.

This year appears the most tragic of all years. Horror follows horror, suffering and sorrow are abroad everywhere. The angel of death is visiting all sorts and conditions of people everywhere. Yet Christmas will come and in ways we cannot explain men and women will strive to enjoy the carols, the presents, and the legend of Santa Claus and Father Christmas.

The hope of the world is not armaments, poison gas, mines. No, in camp and trench, wherever men and women are to be found, the old story will be retold, the old carols sung, and in defiance of every appearance and example of evil people will believe that some day Peace on Earth and good will to men will become a reality.

Mourn Not the Dead

Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie—
Dust unto dust—
The calm sweet earth that mothers all who die
As all men must;

Mourn not your captive comrades who must dwell,
Too strong to strive,
Within each steel-bound coffin of a cell
Buried alive;

But rather mourn the apathetic throng,
The cowed and the meek—
Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong,
And dare not speak!

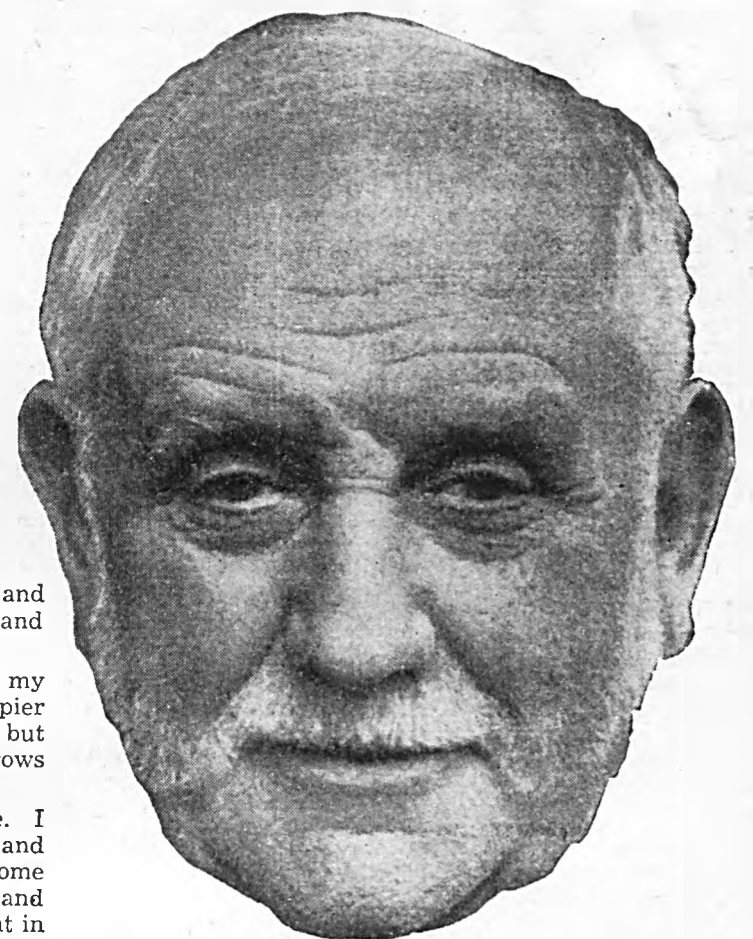
Ralph Chaplin

I WRITE these words about Christmas because I desire to send my love and good wishes for Christmas and always to my comrades, friends, and wise men and women of all lands, especially to those families whose loved ones are at the bottom of the sea or in graves here or abroad, and to the larger number in hospitals or homes, bruised in mind and body.

People say sympathy is cheap. It may be. There is no-one who does not value and need it in times of trouble and difficulty. Also let us remember our conscientious objectors and their lonely struggle. They are faced with a hard task, and in whatever way we are able we should try and stand with them in thought and comradeship.

And to all who read these lines, whoever you are, my wish for each one is that you may live to see happier Christmases; not the happiness of idle dreaming but the happiness which comes from sharing joys, sorrows and needs.

I have written about Christmas as a special time. I wish for the day when evil will be the exception and good the rule of life. I am sure that day will come because mankind is not created simply for evil and destruction but for life . . . life in all its fulness spent in comradeship and co-operation founded on love.



GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

The Feast of Peace

by ERIC GILL,
the famous sculptor and
typographer.

"... IN THE 194TH OLYMPIAD; THE 752ND YEAR FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF ROME; THE 42ND YEAR OF THE RULE OF OCTAVIAN AUGUSTUS, ALL THE EARTH BEING AT PEACE . . ."

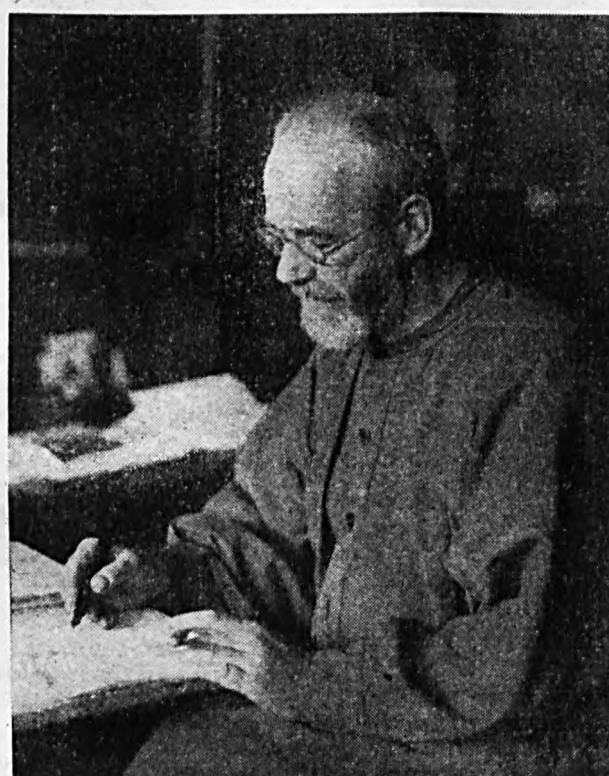
(From the Roman Martyrology, Dec. 25th.)

"PEACE," says the philosopher, "is the tranquillity of order," and it is difficult if not impossible to think of any other definition at once so short and so sufficient. But, from such a definition, it is clear that the idea of peace must be, of its nature, as old as historic man; for the thing called tranquillity and the thing called order must be among the first of desirable things. Man, in fact, desires peace because he is man.

That being so, it would be absurd to suggest that the idea of peace first came with Jesus Christ, and when, according to the story, the angels sang: "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace . . ." they were not proclaiming a new notion but singing a song about a very old one. None the less, Christmas is in a special way the feast of Peace; for though the notion did not come into the world at Bethlehem, being a notion con-natural to a creature made in God's image, the birth of Jesus does and must always signify the coming into this temporal sphere of him who is the Prince of Peace.

Now, by Prince, we mean a leader and ruler and one who rules because he leads. A ruler may be said to lay down the rules, and Jesus is a ruler of men, prince and king, because he gives us a rule, a religion (religion means rule), a way of life, and led us in that way himself. In celebrating Christmas, therefore, we are not only celebrating a birthday, a feast day, but especially the birthday of the ruler who gave us the rules of peace.

What are these rules? Where are they more clearly set out than in the eight Beatitudes? And what better place could there be to advertise them than in the Christmas number of *Peace News*?



ERIC GILL

BLESSED ARE THE POOR IN SPIRIT.

BLESSED ARE THE MEEK.

I do not know whether the order in which they are recorded has theological significance, but it cannot fail to be noticeable and significant to us that priority is given to poverty and humility. In such times as ours this is indeed a challenge; for no two ideas are more contrary to those which enthral our world. Poverty, whether in spirit or matter! meekness, humility! How clearly necessary they are to peace, to the tranquillity of order. No one cause is so obviously that of our present disorder as the world-wide worship of material riches, a worship as deeply infecting us as individual persons as it infects commercial companies and states, and, indeed, only infecting them because it infects us. And how shall we achieve international concord while every people demands national sovereignty and boasts, in greater or less degree, its superior excellence. O God, O Montreal! O Hitler, O Kipling!

BLESSED ARE THEY THAT MOURN.

Such things are truly matter for mourning, and it is better to regard this world as a vale of tears than to dope ourselves with the false excitements and false glimmers of entertainments and luxuries whose first reason for existence is the profits they bring in to the men of business and investors who promote them.

BLESSED ARE THEY THAT HUNGER AND THIRST AFTER JUSTICE.

BLESSED ARE THE MERCIFUL.

BLESSED ARE THE CLEAN OF HEART.

Justice and mercy, cleanness of heart—that is to say: righteousness, integrity, single-mindedness, disinterestedness, and a will unadulterated by self-seeking and all the lusts of power and pleasure and possessions! Are not these things essential to peacemakers—the children of God?

BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS; FOR THEY SHALL BE CALLED THE CHILDREN OF GOD.

And last, that there may be no mistake, no false hope of a broad and easy way to his Kingdom:

BLESSED ARE THEY THAT SUFFER PERSECUTION FOR JUSTICE' SAKE.

For Justice' sake; not for our personal or national aggrandizement; not for personal or national honour, self-respect or patriotism, but for the truth—because justice is truth in action.

UNTO US A CHILD IS BORN,
UNTO US A SON IS GIVEN,
WHOSE GOVERNMENT IS UPON HIS SHOULDERS.

FOR OUR LORD IS BORN TO US;
AND HE SHALL BE CALLED WONDERFUL
GOD,
THE PRINCE OF PEACE. . .

Women's Mass Meeting Calls For a Return to Methods of Reason

MESSAGES TO TWO QUEENS AND MR. ROOSEVELT

THE work of the Women's Peace Campaign in focusing women's opposition to the war, and their demand for a negotiated peace now, took a big step forward on Saturday when, at a mass meeting of women in the Central Hall, Westminster, approval was given to messages to the Queen, to Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, and to President Roosevelt.

The message to President Roosevelt will be delivered personally by Miss Vera Brittain, the novelist, when she visits the United States next month.

At the end of the meeting more than sixty women promised to help the Women's Peace Campaign financially and in other ways.

Here is the message taken to the Queen from the meeting by a deputation of women:

"We come, Your Majesty, representing thousands of women in the sincere conviction that we are expressing the desire of all thoughtful women throughout the world that war should cease.

"We urge the return of methods of reason and negotiation at the earliest possible moment, because we believe that a conference now, and not after the slaughter and suffering of millions, would hold out real hope of a just and lasting peace. We feel that our great commonwealth of nations should be prepared to take the initiative by making an offer of such sacrifices as are necessary to secure justice and freedom for all peoples.

"For the sake of children everywhere, we work for an international conference now, and we pray Your Majesty to help us in this urgent effort by any means in your gracious power."

Recall To Reason

The messages to Queen Wilhelmina and President Roosevelt were in the form of the following resolution, which was adopted by the International Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at its meeting in Geneva recently:

"In a world at war, we come together to seek the road towards peace in a world founded on justice and freedom.

"We recognize that the Governments of the world have persistently refused to use peaceful means for the adjustment of international disputes and for the remedying of injustices.

"As a result of this we find ourselves again involved in wars which threaten to engulf the world and destroy civilization. Brutality and aggression seem to dominate the world and the freedom of men is in many places blotted out.

"Nevertheless, even in this moment of chaos, we believe in the essential dignity and sanity of mankind, and we believe that out of the present disorder a new and better world can and will arise.

"We re-affirm our conviction that the method of war is impotent to bring either justice or the foundations of peace and freedom into being. We therefore appeal to women everywhere to maintain their belief in methods of reason and to work for the employment of these methods in the settlement of political, economic and social conflicts and for the safeguarding of human rights.

"Further, we urge that the governments of the neutral countries should, at this time, with patience and with persistence, seek avenues for mediation taking opportunities to open the way to negotiation.

"And more especially we appeal to the President of the United States of America to call a conference of all neutral countries, having as its aim the putting forward of recommendations to the belligerent countries for the ending of conflict on such terms as will secure a just and durable peace."

What Women Must Do

Following are points from speeches at the meeting:

Miss Mary Gamble stressed the need for understanding the causes of war and aggression. "A Europe fit for men and women to live in at peace," she continued, "will not be built unless we do not fight to a finish. We must cease this senseless war now, before reprisal and recrimination have hurled us into the pit of destruction." She quoted the words of Middleton Murry: "Let's call it a draw and get on with the job worth doing." That job was the building of a new Europe at peace. A new social order must emerge.

Women should use their imagination. They could do this by seeing all the events of the war in terms of humanity. When, for example, they heard of a British ship or a German U-boat being sunk, they should think of it not as just so much tonnage but as the mutilation of thousands of men and the broken homes and broken hearts of thousands of women.

Miss Ruth Fry, who read messages to the meeting from the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups and the War Resisters' International, pointed out that women had learnt that they must trust to something other than "their strong right arm." Though the sufferings of soldiers were being given pride of place in public thought, the cruel sufferings of women and children were everywhere.

The Premier had said that we must have victory before we could build Utopia. Yet victory meant power for our side, and it had been said that "power always corrupts." Instead of decrying the way of love, good will and friendship, we needed to use it infinitely more. "The faith that is going to move the mountain of war is not going to have any 'buts' in it."

Dame Sybil Thorndike told the meeting of a naval officer who had confessed that the thing he hated most about the war was the prostitution of knowledge it involved. She declared that though the English were a good-natured race, they suffered from mental lethargy. "Why can't we apply methods that we apply in our families to the family of nations?" she asked. We should seek for our points of agreement with others not for our points of disagreement.

"If we can stop the killing there is no reason at all why we should not find a way out. All nations, all peoples, want the same thing: they want room to live, food for their children, leisure and education." If Britain could only be the first nation to admit that it had done something wrong it would not be too late even now to say to Hitler: "Let us get together in a decent way."

Voice Of Youth

A deep impression was made by the next speaker, 24-year-old Miss Rosalind Bevan, who spoke on behalf of the younger generation. She declared that the serious political thought of youth was being dismissed by its elders as of no account. Yet when young men were being conscripted to kill, youth was entitled to ask what was expected to come out of it all.

Even in Britain our apparent political liberty was balanced by economic slavery. "That does not seem to me to be a world fit for heroes to live in, let alone to kill each other for."

The older generation had had their opportunity, with the result that the world was in its present state. But some of the younger generation claimed to have seen a better vision. They knew there was a better way—the way of co-operation. They wanted to get down to business now, not after the war.

Miss Bevan asked mothers whether they wanted their sons to be responsible for some German woman's son being shattered. "We are ready and eager to build up a new world on a basis of co-operation and commonsense," she continued. But the world merely hurled them into battle and said: "Now go and kill each other for a start."

The next speaker was, appropriately, an anonymous Mother of a Conscientious Objector.

She told how her husband had marched away in 1915 believing that he was going to end war; and now her son had called up. She had come to realize that in his refusal to fight he was but one of thousands, in many lands.

"I don't believe men can ever end war," she declared. "I believe they have become an integral part of it. I believe it is up to the women." They had to work for the day when they would be able to say to the statesmen: "You cannot, you dare not, and you shall not break the peace again, because we, the women of the world, will not allow it."

Various proposals for giving expression to women's opinion for peace were then explained by Miss Dorothy Evans, and women in the audience were invited to give their names and addresses to stewards if they wished to help.

The resolution quoted above was moved by Mrs. Kathleen Innes, chairman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She declared that because women valued life more than men they must hate war. Men tended to think of war in terms of money.

"It is purely because women have not expressed their essential point of view about war that the nations are treading the road to destruction," she continued. Women should therefore put forward the idea of the essential value of human life, and the idea that wars are not inevitable.

Miss Vera Brittain, seconding the resolution, spoke as the mother of two children. Answering the charge that pacifism was "defeatism," she said that defeatism was the refusal to believe that human nature was incapable of settling differences by reason. What was lacking was not the power to do that, but the will.

"We are here to implore a return to sanity for the sake of our children," she said. To call for peace was not emotionalism; peace demanded self-restraint and self-discipline.

Though a women's silent march through London, which was also to have taken place on Saturday, had been banned by the police as a "political" demonstration, a number of women marched to the meeting from Waterloo Station. They proceeded in single file several feet apart, carrying posters, and attracted a good deal of attention as they passed through crowded West End streets.

(Birmingham Women's March, p. 8)

A New Way To Meet Aggression

IS there a new way to fight this strange war?" Captain Liddell Hart, the noted writer on military subjects, discussed this question in the "Sunday Express" on December 10.

After dealing with the respective value of an offensive in the West and the building up of an enormous air force to carry the war into the heart of Germany, he continued:

"Cannot we find a better way? A way of 'curing Hitlerism,' instead of merely crushing it down—to spring up again after another period of enforced and embittered peace?"

"A declaration that we were renouncing military assault as a means of curing aggression would be a far-sighted move, reinforcing our moral position, while forestalling the growth of disillusionment over our apparent inactivity."

"It might well be the first point in the development of a new technique for countering aggression, one suited to present-day conditions and our particular situation."

"It should be reinforced by such a statement of our war aims, brief but sufficiently explicit, as would make it clear that the German people, individually and collectively, have more to gain than to lose by a return to peaceful conditions on the basis of mutual agreement; and that their enjoyment of such a prospect is bound up with the recognition and restoration of the rights of other people. . . .

"So long as the Allied statesmen use the old military language about 'victory' so long will the German people, naturally, interpret the idea of peace in terms of Versailles. . . ."

Proposed Youth Service League

The possibility of the formation of a Youth Service League to bring together young people of all creeds and parties is now being considered and all pacifists who are interested in the project are invited to write to G. B. Pittcock-Buss, 50 Langley Way, West Wickham, Kent, for full particulars.

It is planned, if sufficient support is obtained, to set up a skeleton organization during the war which could come into operation immediately an armistice is signed.

More Local Tribunal Results

COMMENTS on the work of the local tribunals for conscientious objectors appear below, together with an analysis of the decisions in each case.

(In this analysis A stands for unconditional exemption, B for conditional exemption, C for registration for non-combatant duties, and D for unqualified registration for military service.)

Inverness, December 13

A	1	B	2
C	-	D	1

Total 4

The chairman, Sheriff Macdonald, was benign, kindly, and friendly to applicants and was most patient, doing all he could to help them to state their case. It was noticeable, too, that a great deal of attention was paid to witnesses, even more than to applicants.

Of special interest to members of the Peace Pledge Union was the case of Mr. Grant Fear. He was given exemption conditional on remaining in agricultural work of his own choice. The chairman read out references to the work he had done for the PCU in the Blackheath (London) group and Peace Shop.

Mr. Fear was not asked to produce witnesses, nor to express his views on pacifism. As soon as the chairman heard that he was farming and would continue to do so after the present war, having renounced his engineering career because he had been unable to find suitable work outside the war machine, a decision was quickly reached.

Midlands, 2 days' sittings (at Leicester)

A	1	C	7
B	31	D	9

Total 51

In addition, 15 cases were adjourned for two or three months to enable applicants to find work of national importance, and one case was adjourned for further evidence. Of the nine men removed from the COs' Register, six were referred to the Hardship Committee.

Judge Longson seemed very fair and the general atmosphere of the tribunal was very pleasant.

South Wales, Dec. 13-15

A	3	C	15
B	20	D	4

Total 42

In addition, 6 cases were adjourned; in 7 other cases applicants were to be notified by post of the tribunal's decision.

Newcastle, December 14 and 15

A	6	C	4
B	23	D	5

Total 38

London, December 4-8

A	0	C	30
B	30	D	25

Total 85

South-Eastern, December 4-8

A	3	C	18
B	31	D	7

Total 59

Attitude of Leeds Tribunal

The case of a Jewish objector, J. M. Rosenblum, last Friday, provided a good example of the sort of questioning which has led to protests against the Leeds tribunal. Several times a tribunal member refused to hear the applicant's answers.

The following instances of this are taken from the report of this particular case in the Yorkshire Evening Post.

Rosenblum: I believe there have been Jewish applicants before other tribunals.

"Not many," said the chairman. "Can you give me an explanation?"

"I feel a great number of my co-religionists would like to express an objection," replied Rosenblum, "but various causes are against it. The economic cause is one. My parents can afford to do without me, but two of my friends, whose parents cannot continue without them, are not standing for that reason."

The Chairman: That seems nonsensical. It is futile to pursue it. What other reasons?

Rosenblum: Throughout my life I have been completely—

Mr. E. C. Behrens: You know perfectly well what the reason is—the persecution of the Jews by the people we are fighting now. Don't fence.

Rosenblum: I should like to argue that. I agree with a great deal of what you say, but not with the results you come to.

Judge Stewart: What would you do if the Germans invaded this country?—I should stand for what I believe.

What would you do physically? Where would you stand?—I would just stand in the way—

What would you do to try to prevent the fate that has overtaken your co-religionists in Germany?—There was a time when the Fascist movement—

The Chairman: This is nothing but... What would you do?

Rosenblum: I should oppose, by every method I believe fair, any form of Fascism.

The Chairman: What are you talking about? Supposing there was an army marching towards Leeds from the East Coast...

Further questioned, Rosenblum said he believed in the things this country stood for, and would defend them in his own way.

The chairman commented that his way would not be much good.

Rosenblum: I think my way is the only way. I think the method you prefer would destroy the things this country stands for.

When the chairman said that argument was not rational, Rosenblum said: "I am perfectly rational, and am prepared to follow that argument up in a rational way."

What is the ground of your objection? Well, frankly, I just can't take part in any—

I ask you a straight question. Why can't you give a straight answer? On what grounds do you come here?—Because I object.

Judge Stewart: That is no answer.



Christmas at Headquarters

PEACE Pledge Union headquarters at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, will close this evening, December 22, and will reopen on Thursday morning, December 28.

Future Sessions of C.O.s' Tribunals

FOLLOWING are particulars of forthcoming sessions of the tribunals for conscientious objectors:

SOUTH WALES

In Guildhall, Swansea, December 27 and 28; Shire Hall, Carmarthen, December 28 and 29. (At 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. each day, except on December 28, when sittings will be at 10 a.m. at Swansea and 2 p.m. at Carmarthen.)

SOUTH-WESTERN

Next sittings, first week in January.

LONDON

In Fulham Town Hall (nearest station, Walham Green) on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; in West London County Court, North End Road (stations West Kensington or Barons Court) on Thursdays (1.30 to 5 p.m.) and Fridays (10 a.m. to 5 p.m.).

SOUTH-EASTERN

In Southwark County Court, Swan Street, off Trinity Street, Borough (stations, Borough or Elephant and Castle) on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays (10.30 a.m. to 4 p.m.).

This tribunal also deals with London cases on Tuesdays, when it meets in Bloomsbury County Court, Great Portland Street, at 10.30 a.m.

The above dates are subject to alteration at the discretion of the chairman of the tribunal, though changes are rare.

C.O.s and the Tribunals

A pamphlet entitled *Conscientious Objectors and the Tribunals*, by Henry Carter, has been republished from *The Christian Pacifist* by the Methodist Peace Fellowship, Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2, and it is intended to act as "a practical guide for men who have to appear before tribunals and for the representatives or witnesses who accompany them."

Copies are obtainable from the MPF at the above address.

SEQUEL TO TRIBUNAL UPROAR

Exemption at Second Hearing

"I AM as certain as I sit here today that if Christ appeared today He would approve this war." These were the words of Judge Richardson, chairman of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Tribunal, which, after two days of non-judicial expressions of opinion from the tribunal, caused such a stir in October.

The words occurred during the case of Stanley Lawson, Methodist Sunday School Teacher and PPU member, of Wallsend-on-Tyne, who was struck off the register for non-combatant duties after the tribunal had retired in disorder but before the applicant's witnesses had been heard. Lawson's Minister protested but the protest was disregarded.

After notice of appeal had been given, the Ministry invited Lawson to submit to a new trial by the local tribunal, and this he did.

At the re-hearing last week, Stanley Parkin, solicitor, representing Lawson, put in a letter from the applicant's mother expressing her belief in his sincerity and stating that her son "was very upset and disappointed on his return from the tribunal." The Rev. E. Morgan Rees and the Rev. J. W. Felton also gave evidence.

Lawson's brother and a former Society Steward of his Church were not called, and the applicant was registered as a CO, conditional on remaining in his present employment and taking some training in ambulance work. The second hearing was brief and in great contrast to the previous stormy duel.

Interviewed after the re-hearing, Lawson expressed himself as quite satisfied with the new result; as a member of the PPU, he could not take any part in the Army, and if his work aided the war, he would feel obliged to give it up.

NEW POSTER

"War is a wound in the family of God. Help to heal it by thought, word and deed." So says the latest poster issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board (Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, 2), and the Friends' Peace Committee (Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1)

JOHN BARCLAY'S Weekly Notes

will appear as usual next week.

He writes to tell us that the new campaign following the highly successful women's meeting in London last Saturday will begin on January 1.

He is at present busily engaged in the arrangements for it.

F.C.O. to Hold First Conference

The Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors, which is open to all Conscientious Objectors that accept the aims and objects of the Fellowship, will hold its first annual conference at Friends House (Rooms 7 and 8), Euston Road, N.W.1, on Saturday, January 13, 1940, at 3 p.m. The conference will be open to all registered members of the Fellowship and who hold their membership cards.

The conference agenda will include the adoption of the Fellowship's Constitution, discussion of resolutions, and election of officers.

Particulars of membership and delegate credentials for the conference are obtainable from the Secretary, Philip H. W. Couldry, 1 Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.4.

Advisory Bureaux Changes

Following are some further alterations and additions to the lists of advisory bureaux for Conscientious Objectors already published. Any similar changes should be sent to the National Advisory Bureau, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Alterations

UXBRIDGE. F. W. Carter, 8 Green Lane, Hillingdon.

Additions

FINSBURY PARK. Ernest Fay, 2 Tollington Park, N.4.

ISLINGTON. E. F. Mager, 19 Furlong Road, N.7.

London Members' Meetings

THERE will be no meetings of London members in the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club on Tuesday, December 26.

The next such meeting will be on January 9, following the usual group leaders' meeting on January 2, both at 7 p.m.

P.P.U. Loses a Loyal Member

THE death on December 1 of Councillor G. F. Willgress is a great loss to the Enfield group of the Peace Pledge Union, of which he was a loyal member.

He had a winsome personality, and his word was his bond.

Besides being a great worker for peace within the PPU, he was secretary of Enfield Highway Co-operative Society, and editor of the *Wheat-sheaf*. His last article for that publication, written for the December issue, concluded on a peace note.

Councillor Willgress was also a Methodist local preacher, a Labour District Councillor and vice-president of Enfield Community Association. (The latter, a newly-formed body, is run chiefly by pacifists.)

A memorial service in Enfield was attended by 600 people.

A message of sympathy has been sent to his wife and son.

PACIFISTS LEAVE ARMAMENTS JOBS

A NUMBER of local pacifists, reported the *Rotherham Express*, have "given up their jobs on armaments" rather than earn a living making instruments of death for fellow humans.

They are members of the Peace Pledge Union.

"The stand they have taken," added the newspaper, "will be the subject of much controversy, but, when all is said and done, it is a stand for a principle. Those of us who would not act in the same way can at least try to understand the pacifists' point of view."

Unemployment

Association Carries On

Though, due to the war, it has had to cancel its contemplated programme of autumn public meetings and the establishment of local associations, the National Association Against Unemployment is not closing down.

As soon as an opportunity presents itself to attempt to recommence the work of the association, its council will meet again immediately.

(Council members are: Rev. Leslie Artingstall; Andrew Stewart; Maurice Briar; Vernon Bartlett, MP; Father St. John B. Grosier; Howard Marshall; Professor C. E. M. Joad; Stuart Morris; Rev. Gilbert Shaw; and Leslie Turnour Jackson).

Growth of Civil Service Pacifists

Membership of the Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship increases daily and has reached over 400.

From January 1, a meeting room at Café Embassy, 42, Theobald's Road, London, W.C.2, will be at the disposal of members, free of cost, for fellowship and committee meetings at lunch-time each day and on Friday evenings. Committee members will be in attendance 12 to 1.15 p.m. on Thursdays and Fridays, when questions are invited. (Nearest station, Holborn Underground.)

The secretary is Mr. D. H. Brimms, 239, Northumberland Avenue, Welling, Kent.

The Good Companions

Thanks to the response to a recent appeal by "The Good Companions" on behalf of East End unemployed families, arrangements are now well in hand for a Christmas party.

Accommodation has now been given at the Friends' Hall, Barnet Grove, Bethnal Green, for tomorrow, when it is hoped to bring a few hours Christmas cheer to some at least of those for whom Christmas means just another day's wretchedness.

How P.P.U. Groups Are Working for Peace

MISS VERA BRITAIN was the chief speaker and Stuart Morris the chairman at a recent meeting organized by the Harrogate group.

Miss Britain outlined to peace lovers what their attitude should be in wartime. Their first aim should be to prevent the moral rot which was always the greatest evil of war. They must do this by keeping their minds always critical of anything they read or heard and constantly ask themselves: "Can this be true?" It was a form of mental discipline which was the only means of combating propaganda. The loss of moral values could only mean a dictated peace.

Bury St. Edmunds Discussion

THE local branches of the PPU and Labour Party met in Bury St. Edmunds recently to explore what ground they shared in common and together.

Mr. Hugh Gordon, prospective Parliamentary Labour candidate for the Bury division, said there was growing dissatisfaction within the Labour Party with the attitude adopted by the leaders of the Party in their support for the Government's "pro-war" policy. He emphasized that he was convinced that war was never in the

interests of the working people of any country, while the lower the individual economic status in society, the more severely did he feel the effect of the general lowering of the standard of living, which was the inevitable consequence of war.

A list of resolutions was adopted to be used as a basis of further co-operation between the two bodies.

Cornwall Organizer's Tour

CORNWALL pacifists were greatly encouraged last weekend when E. C. Maddax, the area organizer, visited Camboorne, Redruth, Falmouth, Truro and Helston. A new group was founded at Helston.

On the Sunday afternoon the Regional Council received a report from Mr. Maddax of activities taking place throughout the country.

Other matters discussed included a visit to Cornwall by Maurice Rowntree, John Barclay and Dr. Alfred Salter in the near future. It is hoped that all pacifists in Cornwall will get into touch with their group secretaries immediately.

A Monthly Bulletin is being circulated to all members in the county, together with a plan of campaign of future activities, and a special appeal for funds.

The regional secretary is at present without a typewriter and this means increased work. He would be glad to hear from anyone who can offer him a secondhand typewriter at a reasonable price.

Ewell and Stoneleigh Activity

THE largest public meeting yet held by the Ewell and Stoneleigh Group was addressed by John Barclay and H. Cecil Heath. The speeches were well received by an audience which filled the hall to the doors. Refreshments were provided and the hall was not clear until eleven o'clock.

Andrew Stewart will speak at Ewell on January 22.

Other speakers who have recently addressed the group are Leslie Stubbings on "Community," and Eric T. Roach on "Pacifism has no Frontiers."

Accounts of all these meetings appeared in the *Epsom and Ewell Herald*, which invariably publishes in full the PPU news submitted by a member of the group.

Two Test Tribunals have now been held at Ewell. On the first occasion the Vicarage was so over-crowded that the Chairman (the Rev. C. G. Holland) ordered the second to be held in the Church Room.

At the first sitting the bench was 100 per cent. PPU, though it tried hard to hide the fact. Subsequently this was felt to be a mistake, so that in future the chairman and one other will be non-pacifists.

Other activities of the Ewell Group lately have been the distribution of several thousands "Stop the War" leaflets; the running of a first-aid class every Friday since September; the enlistment of an Allotment Squad to grow vegetables for those in need; a successful social evening; the picketing, in collaboration with the Epsom

Group, of the labour exchange on conscript registration days and the formation of a fund for the dependents of COs. in conjunction with the United Pacifist Council of the Sutton Region. The Group grew at the rate of two members a week during November.

Northern Ireland Area

THE monthly meetings at 3 Botanic Avenue, Belfast, begin to tax the available accommodation, and it may soon be necessary to find a larger hall.

Peace News selling has been very adversely affected by bad weather and blackout conditions. Mr. Boyd will welcome additional help at the GPO on Saturday afternoons or during the week; especially as some who used to sell are now unable to do so.

The Bangor group is still carrying on the good work, and it is whispered that Winston Churchill has heard from them recently. Lisburn group was successfully launched on December 1, when it was decided to meet fortnightly at the Manse, Fort Hill, and at the Friends' School. Those interested should get into touch with Miss M. J. Whitby at the latter address.

Proposed Anerley Group

LAST week we announced that signatories in Anerley and district were trying to start an Anerley group with a regular weekly meeting, and gave an address to which interested people may write. The address, however, contained a misprint. It should have read John E. Norris, 204A Anerley Road, Anerley, S.E.20.

Bournemouth's Sympathy

GEORGE H. JONES, whose death in India we reported a fortnight ago, was the husband of Margaret Stay, founder and secretary of the Bournemouth group until she left for India a year ago.

Members of the Bournemouth group feel sure pacifists everywhere would wish to join them in an expression of loving sympathy in her tragic loss.

Fine Speech at Haslemere

A STATEMENT, which Lord Ponsonby, who was present, declared was the finest exposition of the pacifist case he had heard among the hundreds of addresses on pacifism he had listened to, was made by the Rev. Martin Tupper of Farley Green, Surrey, at a public meeting organized by the Haslemere group. Nearly forty people were present, including schoolchildren, and Lord Ponsonby said he wished that more had been able to hear the speech.

Bedford Mock Tribunal

A SUCCESSFUL mock tribunal was held in Bedford recently before about 200 people. The tribunal consisted of a JP, a clergyman and a former councillor. The six applicants, who between them put forward the religious, humanitarian and purely intellectual approach to pacifism, all acquitted themselves well and their absolute sincerity in reply to questions had a marked effect on the audience.

The success of this venture has spurred the local group to organize a public meeting early in 1940.

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Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion. Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

Today (Friday)

GLASGOW; 7.30 p.m. Reid Hall, Queenshill Street, Springburn; anti-conscription discussion chairman: Donald McLeod; No Conscription League.

SUNDERLAND; 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Toward Road; L. Boddy on "Psychological effects of War"; PPU.

GLASGOW; 7.45 p.m. ILP Rooms, 548 London Road; Dan McArthur; No Conscription League.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

CROYDON; 2.30 p.m. Katherine Street and North End (Whitgift School); two mass meetings; John Barclay (PPU), Rev. Pat Figgis (FOR), Raymon Winch ("Pax"), and Cyril Adams (PPU); all Croydon pacifists urged to attend.

Sunday, December 24

SHETTLESTON; 3 p.m. ILP Hall, Darleith Street; No Conscription League meeting; new members welcome; meetings held at same place and time every Sunday.

GLASGOW (Knightswood); 3 p.m. Knightswood Band Hall; speakers' class; No Conscription League.

SUTTON; 5 p.m. 51 Sherwood Park Road; carollers meet; all welcome; singing for refugees PPU.

GLASGOW; 6.45 p.m. Labour Hall, 46 Kelvin-side Avenue; formation of area group; No Conscription League (Maryhill, Ruchill and district group).

GLASGOW; 7 p.m. ILP Hall, Mosspark Boulevard; Stop-the-War meeting; Councillor William Park and PPU speaker; ILP.

BRISTOL; 7.45 p.m. Horfield Baptist Church, Gloucester Road; Christmas Peace Service; Rev. A. C. Lockett; FOR and PPU.

Monday, December 25

GLASGOW; 7.30 p.m. ILP Rooms, Batson Street; open night; No Conscription League.

Tuesday, December 26

GLASGOW; 7 p.m. Central Halls, Bath Street; social and dance (tickets 2s.); members and friends invited; No Conscription League (Central Group).

Wednesday, December 27

GLASGOW; 7 p.m. Central Halls, Bath Street; aggregate meeting of members; No Conscription League (Glasgow and West of Scotland Council).

Thursday, December 28

BOSCOMBE, Bournemouth; 7.30 p.m. 18 Aylesbury Road; Speakers' class; PPU.

Friday, December 29

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Christmas party; PPU.

Saturday, December 30

LONDON, W.1; 2.45 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street; meeting for Conscientious Objectors.

BOURNEMOUTH; 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; annual social and dance; tickets 1s. each, obtainable from the Secretary, Friends' Meeting House, Bournemouth.

KETTERING; 7 p.m. Trade Union Offices, Club Street; PPU Christmas Party; all friends invited.

Letters to Germany

LATER information which we have received cancels the information we published last week concerning the sending of messages to Germany and Poland.

It is now stated that no such letters must be sent direct to the International Red Cross Committee in Geneva. Instead, short messages can be sent through the Citizens' Advice Bureaux which exist in most towns in this country.

Information as to the address of a local bureau may be obtained from the post office or police station.

FEDERAL UNION

To the Editor of "Peace News."

Federal Union is not (as Will Hayden said in *Peace News*, December 15) a "League of Fascist nations for bigger and better Capitalism and Imperialism."

Federal Union is a proposal for a commonwealth of free and freed peoples whose motto is "each for all and all for each," whose unit is the individual, whose aim a constructive peace.

MARGARET KILNER,
Pacifist and Federalist.

399 Holly Lodge Mansions, N.6.

Middleton Murry and Hitler

THE reply to critics which you publish this week is more on the level which we expect from Middleton Murry, but it is not in any true sense a reply to the real point of the criticism.

I have been called pro-German too often to be disturbed by such a reaction to Pacifist testimony, but I do feel, and feel most strongly, that we are entitled to a full and complete denial of any admiration of Hitler and his ways from Middleton Murry. We may agree with him that we live in a lousy world, but when he goes on to tell us that Hitler is out to delouse it and damn the consequences it leaves many of us speechless at the only possible implication.

Does he seriously suggest that Hitler's Germany is less lousy than the Germany of Stresemann, or for that matter, the England of Chamberlain? If he does not, what does he mean? If he does, one can only feel that if this represents the considered opinion of "our greatest thinker" (this is not meant sarcastically—I have the greatest respect for Middleton Murry) we may as well pack up and let the world go to the Devil in its own way, as it probably will anyhow.

The statements complained of do nothing towards the understanding of Hitler, and I think Middleton Murry should be big enough to admit that they are nonsense, or alternatively to justify them.

W. MARTIN ANDREW.

30 Richmond Wood Road, Bournemouth.

[Though not written for publication, the following is an extract from a Bath reader's letter.]

I have been following the Middleton Murry correspondence with great interest in *Peace News*. It takes all sorts to make a world, they say, but it came as a great surprise that anyone who was sufficiently interested in peace to sell *Peace News* should take exception to such an ably-worded and well-merited criticism of Mr. Churchill's speech as the article by J. Middleton Murry.

My object in writing is to say that I should like to pay the amount due to *Peace News* by the return of the ordered unsold copies.

Gathering that some readers of *Peace News* have taken exception to Mr. Middleton Murry's articles, may I say that I, for one, think that they are magnificent, that I thank God for them, that *Peace News* is well worth buying for them alone, and that we may be proud and grateful to have such a thinker and writer with us.

C. D. CUNNINGHAM.

6 St. Augustines Road, Birmingham.

I am going to shock a good many people by saying that I feel very sorry for Hitler. The majority of people merely condemn. I can find excuse for him.

The man is surely a pathological case; not a deliberately calculating devil. His actions, his

policy, all bear the hall mark of a mental conflict, a fight against repression.

When the German people were crushed, humiliated, stripped naked at Versailles, they were bound to rise in time with the same dynamic enemy as that with which they were crushed.

When a neurotic like Hitler got caught in the uprush, anything could have happened to him. Anything could have happened; what did happen we see today, in the man as we know him. I have every sympathy for him, every excuse to make on his behalf.

I am not saying he is right at all, or that I uphold the Nazi ideals; I don't.

D. J. WATSON.

The Nook, 32 Blackborough Road,
Reigate, Surrey.

Conscription

My case and that of C. Plumb at the Appellate Court was reported in your last issue. You quote my statement: "I have been a member of the Peace Pledge Union for three years," &c.

I should like to make my issue clear. I loathe all forms of war, including the class war. I therefore (to carry my argument to its logical conclusion) strive for a classless system of Socialism which would eliminate all war and its causes. This in my opinion is the correct Pacifist Perspective. But this war is a Capitalist War waged in the interests of Capitalism; therefore I must oppose it as such.

At the Tribunal I was told by the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher that it would be so much easier for me if I pleaded as a Pacifist. But the right of a political objector to conscientiously object to this war had to be fought.

As you state, I admitted I was a Pacifist, but refused to separate this from Socialism. Any other action would have saved me individually, but would have been the precedent to persecution of other than Political Objectors.

The case was lost—but lost fighting. COs must unite against this inhuman denial of man's right to his own conscience.

G. T. PLUME.

82 Haverstock Hill,
London, N.W.3.

The Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors is reported to have refused to give any ruling on the question of so-called "political objectors." If that is true, their refusal is in accordance with the general principle adopted by Parliament that the tribunals should test each case on its merits, without being trammelled by definitions which must be controversial. I am, however, convinced that the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, does admit of an objection to participation in the present war without any general objection to all war.

Section 5(1) of the Act provides three distinct grounds of conscientious objection. It seems clear that objections (c) "to performing combatant duties," and (b) "to military service," must be general and permanent objections to

combatant duties and military service in any war, under any government, and under all conditions.

The other ground of objection allowed by this subsection is (a) "to being registered in the military service register." The term "military service register" must mean the military service register established by this Act, and it lapses with the Act at the end of the present emergency. It cannot mean any other military service register for any future (or past) war. Objection to being registered in the military service register, therefore, can only be objection to being so registered until the end of the present emergency.

I suggest, therefore, that an applicant who conscientiously objects to service in the present war, but who has no general objection to service in some other war, may justifiably claim objection "to being registered in the military service register."

STANLEY JOHNSON.

2 York Avenue,
Swinton, Manchester.

Mr. Eric Attwood's letter expresses a feeling that many pacifists have—partly, perhaps, inculcated by the nettled man out of sympathy with our ideas who asks why we should get away scot free. I do not disagree that some sort of personal sacrifice helps one to serve a cause more worthily and more efficiently, but I certainly think that any effort to court trouble when principles can be fulfilled to the letter and spirit without persecution, smacks of self-imposed martyrdom.

It is the perpetual danger to a spiritual minority to imagine that any steps towards the ultimate good must come through their own ranks.

TED HAINS.

Teffont, Wilts.

All pacifists are prepared to recognize the conviction of the man who, while refusing to fight, feels obliged to take alternative service. The pity is that if this war lasts another two years, the "alternativist" will be forgotten by the mass of people, or else branded as a shirker with a soft job. It is the man who follows the example of those great CO's of the last war who will make our words carry weight. It is those men who will give pacifism the strength and the respect it demands.

I beg of all fellow members of the PPU to realize that the absolutist commands the respect of everyone, and is the true witness against war.

GEOFFREY H. GILBERT.

39 Gredon Road, S.E.16.

Those who attack conscientious objectors should realize that conscience is a super sense possessed by all human beings. I regard conscience as the guide which discerns good and evil—not right or wrong.

The yardstick which determines right and wrong is majority opinion, and is influenced from external sources and also by the individual's more material instincts.

History proves how amazingly inaccurate majority opinion can be in determining right and wrong—while individuals who allow their conscience free expression have aided many social improvements. For example witch-burning, hanging for stealing sheep, child-labour, slavery, &c.—were all regarded as right at various times and under certain circumstances—now they are great wrongs.

However, these wrongs were always evils, even when they were thought right and just, by majority opinion! Conscience recognized evils in the past and will always do so.

S. G.

Glasgow.

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WHERE WAS BRITAIN?

THE Rome radio station broadcast on Sunday night that:

The International Football Association held its yearly meeting at Genoa. Representatives of FRANCE and GERMANY were both present and took part in the discussions.

The Association will meet again in March at a town in Switzerland.

OVER 40,000 AGAIN!

MORE good news about *Peace News*: last week's 12-page issue, a special Women's Peace Campaign number, was in great demand, and 40,462 copies were printed. By Tuesday night only 800 remained in our office.

This is the second time we have had a printing order in excess of 40,000. Once again credit is due to our valiant bands of street-sellers.

★

Recently we declared that a 12-page issue would be an impossibility while present conditions lasted. Paper is difficult to obtain, and it is expensive.

The fact that we were able to do the impossible last week was due in part to those who give us financial support. Whether we shall be able to produce a large paper on special occasions in the future is very doubtful. And, in any case, continued financial support is very important.

Last week's contributions to the *Peace News* Fund totalled £2 11s. 5d. Christmas buying probably accounts for the drop; but there is still time for you to send us a Christmas present tonight. It will be very welcome, whatever its size! (The grand total of the *Peace News* Fund is now £382 14s. 8½d.)

★

(The "*Peace News*" fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy at present paid to "*Peace News*." Donations of any size will be welcomed and individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to *Peace News, Ltd.*, and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

★

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

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"STOP THE WAR"

Thousands See Birmingham Women's March

A LARGE number of Midland women members of the Women's International League, Peace Pledge Union, and Women's Co-operative Guild, took part in a silent march with banners through the centre of Birmingham on Saturday.

As the demonstration took place in the busiest time of the day and through the most crowded parts of the town, thousands saw it; there was no opposition.

Slogans carried included: "Urge Government state peace aims," "Negotiate for the children's sake," "Peace by negotiation," "War and death or peace and life—choose!"

LABOUR PEACE CAMPAIGN URGED

THE following resolution was passed unanimously at a recent meeting of the Marlow Labour Party:

This meeting of the Marlow Labour Party strongly supports the letter signed by 20 MPs laying down the terms for a negotiated peace and in particular the last paragraph in which they offer to enter now into a conference with enemy, allied and neutral countries and to agree to an armistice when the conference is agreed upon.

Furthermore this meeting urges the National Executive of the Labour Party to start an immediate campaign throughout the country in support of the proposals outlined in the letter.

U.S. STUDENTS TO SERVE FOR PEACE

A Student Peace Service has been inaugurated under the supervision of the American Friends' Service Committee, and a pamphlet has been issued for distribution to colleges in the United States guiding students in their endeavour "to work as never before for these fundamental solutions to the world's ills which continue to be essential to any just and lasting peace."

The pamphlet sets out the following as the primary aims of the Student Peace Service:

1. In the realm of personality: living in the "virtue of that life and power which does away with the occasion for all war."
2. In the realm of public service: educating for justice and peace and setting this in direct contrast or opposition to injustice and war.

Copies of the pamphlet are obtainable from Harold Chance, Director, Student Peace Service, Peace Section American Friends' Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

DANGEROUS!

"A beautiful edition of the New Testament bound in khaki is to be presented to the Scottish Forces. The Scottish Bible Society, which is responsible for this, is thus making itself liable, under the Emergency Regulations, for causing disaffection among the troops."—*Forward*, November 25.

The Christian's Task

"Once plunged into modern warfare, in which all the resources of the State are mobilized, men can do comparatively little to remedy the situation. Christians, should, nevertheless, refuse to accept a break in fellowship, and should use every material and spiritual means to cherish their sense of brotherhood in Christ. Moreover, in the very course of war Christians of the conflicting nations and the whole ecumenical fellowship should pray and strive for peace, not the mere cessation of hostilities, but the establishment of just relationships."

—The Madras Conference of 1938.

"Let Us Pray!"

Vincent Long's article "Let us Pray! (an Inquiry Concerning the Day of National Prayer, Sunday, the First of October, 1939)" has been re-printed from *New Vision* in leaflet form, and copies are obtainable from Peace Pledge Union Headquarters at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, or from *New Vision*, 50 Langley Way, West Wickham, Kent. The price is 6 a 1d.

CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 184 22.12.39

Peace Will Be Issue at By-Election

FOR the third time since the war began the peace issue is likely to be brought before the electors at a by-election.

Councillor Searson has announced his intention of contesting the Central South-wark by-election as "Peace by Negotiation" candidate. He is understood to have the backing of many trades unionists.

Mrs. Violet Van der Elst, well-known for her campaign against capital punishment, also intends to contest the stand, as an "Independent National."

It is likely that an official Labour candidate will also be put forward.

The by-election has been caused by the death of Mr. Harry Day, the Labour member.

Previous occasions on which the by-election "truce" has been broken were: at Clackmannan and East Stirling in October, where the "Stop-the-War" candidate polled 1,060 votes; and at Stretford a fortnight ago, where an Independent Labour Party candidate secured 4,424 votes and a Communist 1,519.

Scottish Socialists Want Peace Talks

AFTER considering the National Council of Labour Manifesto on the Russian invasion of Finland, the National Council of the Scottish Socialist Party adopted on Saturday a resolution in which, "while condemning power politics in Russia and Germany," it "refuses to support a war for the power politics of Britain and France."

The SSP "again points out to the Labour Party that so long as it continues to support British imperialism all its protests against other nations are bound to be ineffective."

"The Scottish Socialist Party," continued the resolution, "asserts that the only way to prevent further aggression and bloodshed is to seek peace now by negotiation, and it could only look upon Labour support of the extension of hostilities as a further act of betrayal of the interests of the British working class."

New Nursery and Junior School

A new Nursery and Junior Day and Boarding School has been opened in Basingstoke, Hants. The chief objects of the school will be "to give the child the friendliest, brightest and happiest environment possible, and to put the child's mind, imagination and energy from earliest childhood on lines of a purposefully directed constructive and practical activity."

Further particulars are obtainable from Miss Hanna M. C. Marcus, 4 Gosborough Hill, Basingstoke, Hants.

Church and War

A pamphlet which is of special value to Christian pacifists at this time is *The Church and War*. Though written just before the war began, it will serve to strengthen them now, and has already proved a help to many.

Described as "a challenge to our faith," it is by the Rev. H. J. Dale, from whom copies may be bought for 2d. each. His address is Lymington, Hampshire.

"If I had the Guts..."

"If I had (a) the guts, and (b) the energy I should seriously consider becoming pacifist..." "Not having either the guts to face the abuse of nine out of ten of my countrymen, and not having the energy to go through with such an attitude, the alternative of reaching for a gun and drilling holes in a very excellent people called the Germans, becomes practically inevitable."

"And I don't need the Archbishop of Canterbury to give me his blessing either."

"Heaving hand grenades at anybody—no matter the circumstances—is a dirty rotten business, made a shade more unpleasant by the religious authority that invariably trots out the Thirty-Seventh Article of the Church of England..."

"Let us remember that God is on neither side and to involve his name is, in my view, blasphemy unbounded."

—"Cassandra" in the *Daily Mirror*.

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UNFORTUNATE

THE Christmas truce in the front line in 1914 was one of the most astonishing incidents of the last war. In some parts of the line it lasted for a week or two.

German troops came out of their trenches waving small Christmas trees above their heads. A Presbyterian chaplain conducted a joint service for German and British. Bodies were buried. Football was played. British troops shared their plum-puddings with Germans, who sang "Tipperary."

Lord French thus described the unfortunate incident:—

"... fraternisation of a limited kind took place during the day. It appeared that a little feasting went on. . . . When this was reported to me I issued immediate orders to prevent any recurrence of such conduct, and called the local commanders to strict account, which resulted in a good deal of trouble."

There was little recurrence of such conduct the following Christmas; by then hatred had supplemented boredom.

—William Hickey in *Daily Express* on Wednesday.

HOW NOT TO MAKE A PEACE TREATY

IN the recently published biography of the late C. F. G. Masterman, who was Minister of Propaganda during the last war, an article he wrote for the *Birmingham Gazette* is reproduced giving his views on the terms of the peace signed in 1919 after he had left his office. A few significant extracts may be quoted:

"... that the Peace Treaty, as it stands at present, can bring no permanent peace to Europe, seems obvious. If Germany recovers economic strength and belief in herself and her future, she will sooner or later repudiate some section of these obligations. . . . In this Peace Treaty, Germany, as this generation has known it ceases to exist. One may rejoice that it should cease to exist. The only doubt is what will replace her."

He then enumerates the punitive and vindictive clauses of the Treaty and adds with regard to Poland:

"It is in the East that the most sensational changes occur. The 'sacred soil' of East and West Prussia is fissured in twain by a thick corridor of Polish land. . . . East Prussia indeed becomes practically an isolated German Colony on the Baltic. . . . The Germany that will exist in the future can only be preserved from the imposed will of its armed neighbours by such guarantees as the New League of Nations can provide. . . ."

In his concluding passages Masterman writes:

"It is not with any special sympathy for Germany that one may criticize certain aspects of the Peace Treaty. It is rather with an eye to the dark and threatening shadows of the European situation. . . . how far stern justice is compatible with the survival of Europe remains, at present, conjectural. When all humanity is in the position of castaways clinging to a shipwrecked raft, a vendetta that is begotten of injury would seem to be the work of children."

With a new German democracy born, struggling to save for its people some remnants of desirable life and that hope which alone can preserve order from anarchy, posterity may record that the victors would have been wiser to exercise moderation in their great strength. . . . The wiser will turn from the past to the future; thinking less of exultation than the world which is in the making for their children. Is it a Good Peace? Is it a Clean Peace? Is it a Peace that this fragile and delicate machinery of the League of Nations can guarantee in Permanence? Is it a Peace long destined to endure?"

"Synthetic" Hatred

"Regarding the synthetic hatred, you will find that general war hysteria, ably backed by propaganda departments, will sow the evil seeds of hatred in even the most innocent mind."

—A *Daily Mirror* answer to a correspondent, March 18, 1938.

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